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kingdom under Sobhuza I and Mswati and the various Ngoni States. Despite their common social and cultural origin these emergent polities had each its distinctive features. The special characteristics of Ngoni society are at least in part understandable as due to the differences in its social environment as compared with Zulu and Swazi. The Ngoni were migrants, whereas Zulu and Swazi were not. The Ngoni captured a large number of men and women of non-Nguni origin who were assimilated into the Ngoni State as individuals, whereas for the most part the Zulu and Swazi States expanded by the incorporation of existing social groups as groups, not as individuals, and these groups, if not all Nguni in origin, at least belonged to closely allied peoples.

Thus to set the Ngoni in proper perspective we must begin with a brief description of their Nguni forebears. In the eighteenth century the Nguni were grouped into a large number of small chiefdoms each containing a dominant agnatic lineage segment to which the chief belonged. Each chiefdom contained segments of other lineages, and most lineages had segments in a number of chiefdoms, one segment being dominant in its chiefdom. Lineages were exogamous, their members were graded in terms of primogeniture and the ranking of wives, and as a result of quarrels segments transferred their allegiance from one chief to another or even founded new chiefdoms. Most residential settlements were small, containing only the agnatic descendants of a living man, with their wives and children, and were divided into three sections or 'houses', led by the great, right- and left-hand wives of the polygynous head of the settlement. There were also larger homesteads containing the dwellings of chiefs and other members of the dominant lineage as well as those of many genealogically unrelated dependants. The chief was assisted by his agnatic kinsmen and by the heads of non-chiefly lineage segments and by other unrelated men whom he placed as lieutenants, or indunas, in charge of districts or responsible for specific administrative, judicial or military tasks. For fighting and hunting the men of the chiefdom were organized in divisions, each attached to a royal homestead. There was also an organization of youths into small age-sets, groupings of coevals who had been circumcised together.

At the turn of the century, with the emergence of large kingdoms, each containing many chiefdoms under the leadership of a king, the age-set system changed its form and the royal homesteads acquired greater significance. Circumcision was discontinued and the age-sets began to be organized on a national basis. Each age-set constituted a regiment in the national army, had it barracks

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at a royal homestead, and was led by a nominee of the king, usually a prince or chief. Other royal homesteads, called 'heads', were in charge of princes and were the foci of allegiance of groups of chiefdoms within the kingdom.

Thus every man owed allegiance in several places. He had obligations to his agnatic lineage, and in particular to that segment of the lineage within the chiefdom to which he belonged. Local matters, questions arising over land and cattle, and quarrels between neighbours, were settled by discussion between agnates or by reference to the lieutenant appointed by the chief to look after the district. Every man was also a member of a division of his chiefdom, and hunted wild beasts with his fellows in the division. He was a member of his chiefdom as against other chiefdoms, and looked to his chief for assistance in his affairs, even as the chief relied on the support of his people in his own struggles with other chiefs. In the nation, every man belonged to a regiment, fought and danced alongside his regimental age-mates drawn from every chiefdom, and was expected to support the prince who commanded the regiment. Finally he was a member of a 'head' and within his regiment was grouped together with others from the same head. A man might change his chiefdom, but his allegiance to regiment and head were fixed.[5]

The Ngoni State was founded in the 1820's by men and women, perhaps a thousand in number, who had grown up in a social system of this kind. Certain parts of the system were dropped, others were developed. In effect, the system was simplified and adapted to the life of migrant brigandage which the Ngoni enjoyed for some seventy years. The old alignment of agnatic lineages disappeared, for the great majority of Ngoni joined the system by capture, not by birth. In its place a quasi-agnatic residential system was evolved, in which men and women bore allegiance not to their own agnatic seniors but to their lord or captor. This system was, however, tied in with an arrangement of royal homesteads which in itself was a development of the division of polygynous households into great, left- and right-hand 'houses'. There were no chiefdoms within the nation, for the nation began, as it were, as a *tabula rasa* without significant relics of earlier chiefly alignments. The age-set system remained the basis of military organization, but there were no royal or chiefly commanders appointed over regiments and there were no regimental barracks. Instead the bulk of the population lived in large villages which resembled the former royal homesteads and military barracks but in which men

[5] Based on Bryant, *Olden times*, and Gluckman, 'Kingdom of the Zulu'.

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lived with their wives and children, and not all of which had royal headmen. The system of 'heads' disappeared, at least in the Ngoni group with which we are most concerned, and within their regiments men were grouped in terms of their place in the residential system.

3. *Foundation of the State*

The Nguni chiefdoms of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were, according to all accounts, comparatively small. There were many of them and they were unstable. After about 1775 the pattern of political alignment began to alter and larger states appeared. By 1810 three kingdoms, the Mthethwa, Ndandwe and Qwabe,[6] dominated the rest and in 1818 Zwide, king of the Ndandwe, whose territory was in what is now northern Zululand, killed the Mthethewa king. He then turned his attention to Shaka, an Mthethwa by political affiliation who had conquered his kinsmen the Qwabe and had become the effective leader of the Mthethwa kingdom. Unfortunately for Zwide, he was defeated in 1819 by Shaka and thereupon the Ndandwe kingdom broke up. Some segments became part of Shaka's expanding State, others moved off to the north. About 1821[8] Zwangendaba, who had been for a time a sub-chief of Zwide, led a party of refugees north-eastwards into the region of Delagoa Bay. The route probably taken by Zwangendaba and his followers, and by other Ngoni groups, is shown in Map A. Near Delagoa Bay Zwangendaba found Soshangane, a classificatory brother of Zwide,[9] fighting with Nxaba, another minor chief, both of them refugees like Zwangendaba from the rising power of Shaka. All three parties raided the indigenous Tsonga peoples and made captives fight alongside their new masters.

Zwangendaba quarrelled with Soshangane and moved on farther north. He took with him his new Tsonga adherents and also some small groups of Swazi and related peoples who had fled independently from Shaka and who now placed themselves under

[6] I do not claim any consistency in my spelling of indigenous names and other words. As far as possible I have endeavoured to follow Atkins, 'Spelling Nyanja'. However I have written the unaspirated post-alveolar affricative in its old form *ch* whenever the new form *c* might be confused with the radical dental click consonant represented by *c* in Zulu.

[8] cf. Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 459. He is followed by Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 5, 17, 71. Lancaster, 'Chronology', pp. 77, 84, gives 1823 and Winterbottom, 'Histories', p. 13, has 1823 or 1824. Young, *History*, p. 109, and Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 8, both have 1825. Soga, *South-Eastern Bantu*, p. 272, says Zwangendaba left in 1829, while Coxhead, *Native tribes*, p. 20, says he left in the 1850's.

[9] For the exact relationship between Soshangane and Zwide, see Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 161, 279, 454.

[Text continues on page 9]

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because of a divergence of interest between one or more of its inferior segments and the residue. In some instances all the people in the segment were killed, as presumably was the intention when Zwangendaba sent warriors to destroy segment 18. In other instances not everyone was killed and those whose lives were spared were drafted to some other part of a major segment to which they belonged. In the only examples I know of, in which either of these last two alternatives was adopted, action was taken by the highest lieutenants in the segments founded for the great wives of reigning chiefs, and was prompted by allegedly hostile acts directed against the chief. Heads of lesser segments could not readily act in this way for although the Paramount Chief and his lieutenants did not possess a monopoly of this power, they regarded its exercise by others with suspicion as a threat to the unity of the State.

If some of the members of an eliminated segment escaped annihilation, they might presently reform themselves into a new segment and begin a separate existence again. If they were not kinsmen of their lord, no structural complications ensued. If, however, relatives of the lord were concerned, then there might be conflict between the position required of them because of their relationship and that in which their new segment was formed. Thus, if the village of a great wife was annihilated and later a new village was founded for her, this could never replace the original one. Her subordinate bands of co-wives had formed their villages by breaking out from her original village, and that had been their headquarters. The new village was founded after they had made their own, and was not their headquarters, even though they still acknowledged that its head was their great co-wife. As we have seen, such a sequence of events occurred at a critical stage of Ngoni history, and may have influenced the way in which the State split.

2. *Age-sets*

The residential system was dominant in deciding the alignment of persons in most situations, but the waging of war and execution of certain ceremonies were organized on a different basis. The army was divided into age-set regiments. About every three or four years,[1] depending on the military requirements and on the availability of lads of the right age, a new regiment was formed from all the boys aged about fifteen years old. They assembled at the Paramount Chief's great wife's village and were inducted into the army. The chief gave them a regimental name and they came under the orders of his senior lieutenants. An experienced warrior

[1] cf. Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 470.

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from a senior regiment was given command of the new regiment. This post seems not to have been politically so important as it was among the Zulu, where princes commanded regiments. In major battles, regiments fought as tactical units.

A list of regimental names is given in Table III. Some regiments had more than one proper name, and sometimes that portion of a regiment belonging to a single major segment was given a name of its own.

The regimental system was more formally prescribed than the residential system, in that every lad had to join, and his regiment was, at least initially, fixed for him by his apparent age. But even here there was some possibility of manipulation. Men were expected to defer to members of senior age-sets and a well-favoured warrior might gain promotion from one regiment to the next above, either because of his own prowess in war or because the senior regiment was short of men. There were some offices of leadership within a regiment, but I was unable to discover what they were or how they were filled. Certain warriors were selected for special tasks, such as spying or scouting or forming an advance guard. But the greatest measure of flexibility derived from the nature of the activities carried on under this system. Some men fought well, others did not. Some survived and some were killed in battle. The successful warrior was rewarded by his superiors with dependants and thus he established his own segment. Thus success in one system led to advancement in the other.

On national raids one or more regiments were mobilized and were commanded by a senior lieutenant from the Paramount Chief's great wife's segment. Some informants said that in the line of battle men from the same segment were separated, so that there would be less chance of their being killed all at once. However within a regiment there must have been cleavages on segmentary lines, for at least in later years the leader of a major segment would from time to time mobilize all the men in his segment belonging to certain regiments and send them off raiding. Thus the Ngoni military system differed from the Zulu, in which the king alone was able to mobilize age-sets. Some of the segmentary divisions within Ngoni regiments had their own proper names. In battle, the men of a regiment might be divided for tactical reasons but this was not a lasting arrangement, and the only permanent cleavages within a regiment appear to have been those determined by the residential system. There does not seem to have been any system of non-territorial sectors, nor was there any organization, apart from the State-organized regiments, by which men of a single segment

[Text continues on page 39]

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TABLE III. REGIMENTAL NAMES

Men's regiments		Approximate year of formation	Women's regiments	
Information poor	*Information good*		*Information good*	*Information poor*
Majekwane		1821		
Ziolemba		1824		
Somfula		1827		
Machaya Imiti		1830		
Zimpofu		1833		
Makupu		1836		
Ngowongo, Macihungu		1839		
Mangazi, Magazi		1842		
Malunge, Mavimba (a)		1845		
Masapi, Mashapi		1848		
Manyoka, Zinyoka		1851		
Manyinsa, Manyisa		1854		
Majuwela		1857		
Majunge, Mayunge		1859		
Maiyiza (e)		1861		
	Zinkhondo, Macaiya	1863		
Masala		1866		
	Macona	1869		
Maola (d)		1871		
Zinyati	Manyela	1874		
	Mabema (b)	1877		Mateza
Maola (d)		1879		
Masoo, Manoo		1882		
	Kabaenda	1885	Mashambisa	Matukwa
	Mafelakudeni	1889	Magalela	Mashaose
Lembani, Maiyiza (e)	Cimale, Lembalemba	1892	Mashumela	Makanya
	Mtani, Cotamoto	1895	Maiekesa	Mekela ng'ombe
	Azola	1900	Macaiya	
	Ngazaza (c)	1906	Mambonya	
	Ngaziaiya	1912	Mtetema	
	Ciwombola, Nganya	1914		Mekela
	Kalusilo, Msolokoto	1920	Gwaula	

[Footnotes on page 39]

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could assemble for hunting and fighting, similar to the sectors attached to chiefly villages among the Zulu.[8]

Women were organized into parallel age-sets, led by daughters of the royal line and other important young women. Men and women of corresponding sets danced together on ceremonial occasions, and among themselves women in a regiment used to fight 'to see who was strongest'. After marriage a woman ceased to participate actively in these regimental dances and fights.

The most important national festival was the first fruits ceremony held annually at the headquarters of Zwangendaba's great wife's segment. This was organized on an age-set basis, and there was much competitive dancing. Special songs were sung, and on conclusion of the ceremony a large national raid might be undertaken.

The Ngoni depended largely on the efficiency of their army for the continual inflow of captives on which the strength and continued existence of the State depended. The age-set system provided them with an efficient army, and in addition was a means whereby the centrifugal tendency inherent in their segmentary system was partly checked.

Each major segment had members in each regiment, and each regiment was drawn from every major segment. It provided the central authority with an instrument by which the segments could be held together, for on national raids the young men of every segment were in danger. No one segment, save the State itself, could claim the glory for a successful battle, but only the regiments involved. The Paramount Chief did not possess a complete monopoly of force, for we have already noted that sometimes segment heads organized their own raids. But these were small affairs,

[8] cf. Gluckman, 'Kingdom of the Zulu', p. 31.

(a) Mpezeni I's regiment. Lancaster says Mpezeni I was in Mayunge.
(b) Nsingu's regiment.
(c) Mpezeni II's regiment.
(d) Maola. Wiese and some of my informants support the earlier position; Lancaster and other of my informants support the later one.
(e) Maiyiza. Lancaster and one of my informants support the earlier position; a more reliable informant supports the later one.

Wiese gives two other regimental names. His Madouda or Madoda is merely the status term *madoda*, meaning 'mature, respected and important men'. His other regimental name, Madginga or Madjinga, is probably also a status term, meaning 'very old men'. Rangeley has the names Tatakakulu, Mang'ombe, Izimpisi, Makeke, Mahacu, Zimfezi, Manyoni.

Sources: twenty-three independent informants, offering partly conflicting accounts; Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 477, and 'Geschichte', p. 195; Lancaster, 'Chronology', p. 82; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', p. 59.

[Footnotes pertain to Table III, page 38.—Analyst]

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561 621 701 involving perhaps between a dozen and a hundred men, whereas the Paramount Chief could, so long as the State remained intact, command the services of perhaps 10,000 warriors.

561 727 621 This unifying effect of the age-set system applied particularly to the recent captives. It appears to have been through the regimental system that recent captives, both men and women, were indoctrinated into Ngoni ways and made to feel that they, too, were Ngoni. In the residential system, recent captives were dependants rather than lords. In the age-set system there was no such distinction. Men captives were drafted into the regiment appro- [702] priate to their apparent age, and boys were enrolled with their coevals. They were called upon to fight in the same way as their aristocratic comrades, and were offered the same prospects of promotion, both within the age-set system and in the segmentary organization, as a result of successful fighting. Many of the well-remembered segment heads who achieved rapid promotion after capture are described as being successful warriors.

561 796 The annual first fruits ceremony (*nkwala*) was organized on an age-set basis. Although I was not able to establish details of this ceremony, it is clear that it was the most memorable national ceremony in the year, and that it provided supernatural sanction to the cohesion of the State and of the various regiments, under the leadership of the Paramount Chief. There were dances and mock fighting between regiments, and women also fought with each other in age-set groups of some kind or other. Read states that the description of the ceremony she was given showed much similarity with the corresponding Swazi ceremony. Commentators on the [171] Swazi and Zulu ceremonies describe them as strengthening the army and the kingship and unifying the nation, by a dramatic exaggeration of the conflicts as well as the links within it, and it is probable that this was true also of the Ngoni.[9]

[167] 648 631 The Ngoni and their neighbours formed part of a wide social system, and the relationship between them was a political one. When the Ngoni moved from place to place, the area round them was vacated by its former inhabitants, so as to leave a dwelling-area for the Ngoni and a no-man's-land isolating it from other inhabited areas. These moves were forced on the indigenous people by Ngoni raids. There were no direct relations between [172] States, for there was little concerted opposition to Ngoni raiding

[9] cf. Read, 'Tradition', p. 470; Kuper *African Aristocracy*, pp. 223-5; Gluckman, 'First fruits ceremonies', pp. 30-3. The Swazi ceremony is called *incwala*, and Read's informants called it *inqwala*, but my informants had lost their click consonants.

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and the Ngoni did not seek to vanquish other tribes as states but rather to exhaust them by continued attrition. In later years it appears that a few minor chiefs who lived near the Fort Jameson group did manage to come to some agreement with it, for the Ngoni seem to have raided them only sporadically although warriors passed through their territories *en route* for more distant objectives; but this may have been due to the intervention of European traders. The powerful Cewa chief, Mwase Kasungu, may also have come to some arrangement with the Fort Jameson group even as he did with the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland.

Thus for the most part the external relations of the Ngoni State were warlike. The Ngoni did not trade with their neighbours, or send ambassadors to them, or enter into alliances with them; they merely killed or captured them.[10] The army was organized on a basis of age-sets, but the age-sets as such did not enter into political relations with their enemies. They merely executed the policy of the State or of the major segment to which they belonged.

3. *Officers of State*

The residential and age-set systems formed the structure of the State and there was no separate administrative system. There was little specialization of function among those who wielded power in the State, and those who did have special governmental tasks were all the lords of large segments.

The nearest approach to special political officers is to be found among the regional governors. A few of Zwangendaba's followers were with him from the beginning of his journey from Natal. Some of these were his agnates, but the descendants of others have now forgotten what relationship, if any, they bore to him. These early followers did not stand in the lord-lieutenant relationship to Zwangendaba, for in Ngoni usage all lieutenants were captives, or the descendants of captives, of their lords. They were organized in segments in the same way as everyone else, but the heads of some of these segments were known by the special term *mulumuzana* which I have translated as regional governor. Segments headed by regional governors were attached like other large segments to the various royal headquarters, and thus became primary divisions of the segments formed for queens. They differed from the lieutenants of the royal headquarters not only in their title but also in the greater freedom they were allowed in their segments. They kept their own villages separate from the royal villages to which they were attached politically.

[10] See pp. 25*ff*.

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tiation of function between the senior lieutenants of the Paramount Chief, it is improbable that there were any special political offices outside the residential system.

Read mentions a political hierarchy with various titles.[15] At least in the Fort Jameson group, three of the four vernacular terms she gives were used in connexion with the residential system. The fourth, *amanxusa*, was used in Zulu for messengers sent by a chief and a dialectical variant of this (*manyusa*) is so used nowadays at Fort Jameson. They have no executive authority and do not seem to have had any in the past.

Fraser, writing of the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland, says that there were two groups of lieutenants, one composed of men who became Ngoni before the crossing of the Zambezi and which exercised civil power, and the other which included men of more recent incorporation into the Ngoni tribe and which supplied the war leaders. He implies that the war leaders did not take part in the civil administration.

There seems not to have been this distinction between civil and military lieutenants among the Fort Jameson group. Wiese's 'Minister of War', who was referred to as a Commander-in-Chief by other contemporary writers, was a segment head with the same responsibilities towards his people as anyone else. The regiments had leaders responsible for the tactical control of warriors, some of whom were recently incorporated men, and presumably Fraser is referring to them, but his statement that the man often chosen to lead the whole army had no voice in the council conflicts with Elmslie's account of the same place and period. The war leader, Ng'onomo, who is mentioned by Fraser, acted as regent on the death of the Paramount Chief in northern Nyasaland.[16]

The village as such had an importance independent of the size or order of segment of which it was headquarters or by which it was inhabited. There were no special terms for distinguishing the heads of large or small segments, for all were lords or ladies. But a special term[17] was used for a village headman, irrespective of the order of segment of which he was lord, provided he was not a lieutenant who had become head of the village in the absence of agnatic descendants of the founder. The use of a special term may have been an indication of the village headman's importance, part of which derived from the control he exercised over the cattle

[15] Read, 'Tradition', p. 462. cf. her account of the southern Ngoni in 'Standards', p. 16.

[16] Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 32. cf. Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, pp. 121, 289.

[17] *Inkosana*. In Zulu, a small or petty chief. cf. Read, 'Tradition', p. 462.

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sanctions were less effective than they are in more homogeneous societies; but this can hardly be proved. The fact remains that some segments did break off, that the State attempted to annihilate them, and that sometimes they were successful, probably sometimes not. The transition was sharp between the condition in which a segment was an integral loyal part of the State and that in which it was itself a new State. Spatially a State was surrounded by a no-man's-land. Everything inside the uninhabited ring of country was in the State, everything outside it was not. Within the State there was no feuding such as sometimes characterizes societies whose political boundaries are not uniquely defined. In Ngoni society, murder was punished by the State, and the cattle paid by the murderer's kin were handed over to the Paramount Chief, not to the kin of the murdered man. The Paramount Chief, it is true, usually handed on the cattle to them, but the method of settlement is indicative of the power of the State. There was only one national first fruits ceremony, accompanied by summary penalties of death for those whose actions threatened its mystical effectiveness, as for example by singing the ceremonial songs at the wrong time. Furthermore, there was a single age-set system, in which the members of each set were drawn from all segments, and because of the activities of the sets, the segments united in aggression against the external world.

When a split threatened, the issue was decided by force of arms. Yet in a quite significant sense the cohesion of the State was not based on force at all. The Paramount Chief had no monopoly of force, for as we have seen there were representatives of every major segment in each age-set, and any lord who could claim the loyal support of his segment had at his disposal a fighting force as efficient as that of anyone else. Within the army there was little or no technical, as distinct from tactical, specialization and the Paramount Chief had no bodyguard or other specially recruited force on which he could rely. The Ngoni were contemptuous of guns, for the Tower muskets used by the Arabs and others could not penetrate their shields at normal firing range, and such guns as the Ngoni possessed were used only for making a noise.[45] There was no strong central power posed against the provincial lords, as in some societies. The strength of any segment was measured by its internal cohesion, its size and fighting ability, as matched against the cohesion, size and ability of the forces that could be marshalled against it. While he was loyal, expansion in a man's segment

[45] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 477, and 'Geschichte', p. 196; Read, 'Tradition', p. 461, f.n1; Young, *History*, p. 125.

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611 to which she had belonged before her marriage, and in particular
602 sent some of her children to her parents to be cared for until
[855] adolescence. In this way a web of affinal ties was built up, cutting across both the residential and age-set systems and acting against the fissile tendencies in the former.[47]

The ties that bound a man to his age-mates and to his
561 matrilateral kin cut across those linking him to his lord and to his
602 dependants. Nevertheless, it seems probable that even without this arrangement of cross-cutting ties, the segmentary system itself was not easily fissile. The State as a whole was primarily held together
64 by its enemies, the external enemies who made it unsafe for small
182 bodies of Ngoni to venture across the no-man's-land on their own, and the internal rivals who competed for the Paramount Chief's favour and who bided their time until they could lead off their major segments as independent states. The flexibility of the system allowed men to achieve power within it, and provided a way of balancing the interests of different groups, as well as making possible the few instances of fission that did occur. The Paramount
643 Chief was powerful, not only because of his mystical attributes and of the military successes of his people, but because he was the government. Through him the common interests of the tribe as a whole were expressed in an organized manner as against the interests of minority groups. Despite its segmentary form, Ngoni society was a State.

In later years two changes took place which increased the
177 stability of the State, at least from a short-term point of view. In the first place, the external environment altered due to the penetration into the central African hinterland by Arabs, Portuguese and British. With this topic we shall deal in Chapter III. The
178 second change, which seems to have taken place among the Ngoni
631 of northern Nyasaland, was in the internal organization of the State. In that particular group, neighbouring tribes were brought
[636] under subjection as political groups, not as individuals, and the conquered peoples were either allowed to retain their own chiefs as subordinate rulers or else were attached in large batches to various important headquarters. A distinction emerged between
[563] the aristocracy and the conquered peoples, and the army was no
[701] longer simply the aggregation of age-sets but included quasi-professionals supplied by a near-by unconquered Cewa chief Mwase Kasungu, who were armed with guns. Similar changes may well have taken place among the Ngoni groups in Tanganyika, who were more closely involved with the slave trade to the coast

[47] See the discussion of affinal linking in my *Marriage*, pp. 10-11.

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Ngoni origin. The sharp cleavage between the Ngoni and their neighbours has gone.

Another relic of the privileged position enjoyed by the Ngoni before the conquest which did not long survive their defeat was the subsidy paid to Mpezeni. Under the terms of Wiese's alleged concession of 14 April 1891, Mpezeni was to be paid £200 a year and one per cent of Wiese's profits. Wiese made presents to Mpezeni, but there is no record of any substantial payment. When the provisional grant of 10,000 square miles of land was made by the B.S.A. Company to the Mozambique Company on 8 May 1895, the latter agreed not to exercise any rights it might have under Wiese's concessions, but there was no mention of the disposal of any possible obligations. Warton continued Wiese's practice of giving presents to Mpezeni, but there was no regular payment. As Wiese's concession had never been recognized it would seem that there was no legal obligation on either the North Charterland or the B.S.A. Company to pay an annual subsidy. Nevertheless after the Ngoni war the two companies must have come to some agreement on the matter. In April 1898, according to the answer to a question in the Commons, the B.S.A. Company were ready to pay Mpezeni £200 a year 'for the present'. In January 1900 the Administrator stated that the Collector at Fort Jameson had spent only £50 during the current financial year on payments to Mpezeni and 'his loyal indunas'. He proposed to spend a further £50 during the year and the remaining £100 of the subsidy was to be distributed among the surrounding tribes in the interests of the North Charterland.[5] These special arrangements were presumably superseded in 1903 when, under the scheme of Native Administration drawn up in that year, provision was made for the payment of all recognized chiefs from the general funds of the Territory.

Similarly, the military organization of the Ngoni broke down after the conquest. One of the first acts of the Administration was to forbid Ngoni to carry weapons of war.[6] Four new age-set regiments were formed between 1898 and 1914 but they were little more than dancing societies, singing the old songs which had excited their seniors in the 'time of peace' before the conquest but unable to emulate their military achievements. During the 1914-18 war the majority of young Ngoni men who might have formed a new age-set were enrolled as carriers and soldiers on the Allied side.

[5] *Parliamentary Debates, 4th Series*, lv (1898), cols. 1654-5; report of a meeting between Administrator and North Charterland manager, 15 January 1900 (Lusaka archives); cf. Poole, MS., 'Tribes of East Luangwa Province'.

[6] Wiese, 'Geschichte', p. 201.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

After the war an age-set was formed but its activities conflicted with the demands of the churches and schools and it was not a success. No further attempts have been made to carry on the system. Ngoni now say, 'What need have we of regiments now that there are no other tribes for us to fight?'

2. *White control*

Apart from the squabble over cattle, the surrender of Mpezeni on 9 February 1898 marked the end of the Ngoni war. The Nyasaland troops did not pursue the leaders who fled, although Brake moved Mpezeni to the vicinity of Fort Manning. In May he wrote, perhaps over-optimistically, that in the central part of Ngoniland rebuilding had begun.[7]

It is clear that at first the Ngoni acquiesced in their defeat. Whereas prior to the war Whites had lived in their country on sufferance, now their right to be there was not challenged. Only a few months after the war Harding arrived, recruiting police for service in Southern Rhodesia. He was received in a 'most friendly manner by the chief in charge who gave an ocular demonstration of his loyalty by voluntarily and immediately handing over to my charge 200 of his young men for my newly formed Police Force...'.[8] After the death of Mpezeni I, his lieutenants waited the traditional period of a year. Mpezeni's heir Nsingu and his wife Mkucwa had both been shot during the war, and in September 1901 the lieutenants petitioned the Administration to appoint their eldest son, Ciloa, aged about 10 years, as chief. On 23 July 1903 the Native Commissioner held a meeting at which Madzimawi, son of Mpezeni I in the residue of segment 4, asked to be allowed to take the name Zwangendaba.[9] Thus even at that early date the over-riding authority of the Administration was acknowledged in matters concerning the chieftainship.

The establishment of an Administration based on Fort Jameson in 1898 was governed, in so far as the British legal system was concerned, by the legislation consolidated in the Foreign Jurisdiction Act 1890.[10] Relations between the Administration and its African subjects were controlled by the Africa Order in Council 1889.[11] This was superseded by later Orders in 1900, 1911 and 1924,[12] marking the delimitation of North-Eastern Rhodesia as a separate

[7] 1898; 1901, fo. 69.
[8] Harding, *Far Bugles*, p. 82.
[9] *Reports on the Administration*, 1900-2, p. 408; see pp. 1399*f*.
[10] 53 & 54 Vict., c. 37.
[11] *S.R. & O.*, Rev., 1890, iii, pp. 259-332.
[12] *S.R. & O.*, 89 of 1900, 438 of 1911 and 324 of 1924.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

were worn by hanging on the shoulder or neck. The bulls which were killed were called *izinkunzi za impi*, bulls of the army. The man who wore the horns and danced with them was known as a man of valour.

Often the Paramount called the men who had shown valour on many occasions to come to him. When he did so he first of all searched for a fine skin and called a man who was good at cutting out a shield. When the shield was ready it was given to the famous warrior. When he received it he began to dance with the shield while the Paramount and the people there saluted him with praises for his valour. The people in the kraal were told to greet the Paramount's hero and beat on their shields. That dancing was a dance of thanks to the Paramount.

Organization of Warfare

Cibambo's text brings out a number of points which emphasize that the organization for war was integral to the whole structure of the Ngoni kingdoms and to the peoples living within the kingdoms. We shall concentrate in this chapter on the political implications of the organization of warfare, and chiefly on the part played by the Paramount and his officers of state. The entire war organization was centred in the person and office of the Paramount. He was the commander-in-chief of the army, though most informants agreed he did not himself go out to fight. He claimed the sole right to make war and to declare war, but it is clear from early Europeans sources that private wars and raids did take place, and this effort to centralize and control all warfare appears to have been not wholly successful. The Paramount claimed the right to distribute all booty taken in wars, whether they were waged on behalf of the whole state or of a section of it. Through the exercise of this right he sought to suppress private warfare for private gain, but, according to Cibambo, he did not get all the booty taken, for the text mentions setting aside cattle for the Paramount.

If war was declared by the Paramount his village was the mobilization centre for the whole army. The sections of the army from the districts of the chiefs and the *amakanda* of the *alumuzana* assembled in the Paramount's village; there they danced *ligubo*, the war-dance; they went out from there to fight, and they returned there after fighting for the acclaiming of heroes and the distribution of the booty.

The Paramount worked through two leading office-bearers of the army. One was the big war *induna* whom he appointed and on whom lay the responsibility for planning the campaign and selecting the regiments for different tasks. It was he who bore the onus of ultimate success or failure. The other office-bearer whose activities the Paramount controlled closely was the chief 'doctor' of the army, the man who sometimes combined the role of diviner with that of administering 'medicines' to the army.

Finally the Paramount had the sole right of granting the head-ring to the men of a regiment who had served their time as warriors and were allowed to marry and settle down in their villages.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

allowed to marry and settle down in their villages.[1] Since he also had the sole right of forming a new regiment of young men and giving it a name, he controlled the intake to the army as well as the discharge of seasoned warriors.

The big war *induna* served directly under the Paramount. Associated with him were other subordinate war leaders or *izinduna*, one of whom was always at the head of each regiment. Considerable emphasis was laid by Cibambo and other Ngoni informants on the essentially military character, in pre-European days, of the office and function of the *izinduna*, who were officials serving the whole kingdom. We shall see in Chapters III, IV and V how the term *induna* was also used for civil officials at the royal village and in the courts, as well as for the men in charge of sections of a village and of houses.

The account of the mobilization of the army shows that the Ngoni had changed the system of military barracks concentrated about the capital, described by Gluckman as typical of the Zulu military organization and by Kuper for the Swazi. Gluckman said that the chiefs assembled their people in territorial, not age, divisions, and that the age regiments belonged to the king alone and lived in or near his capital.[2] In pre-European days the Ngoni, according to Cibambo and to other informants, had in their armies territorial divisions as well as age regiments, and there was no concentration of young warriors by age regiments round the Paramount's village.[3]

When a summons to war went forth, the warriors in the territory of each chief or *mulumuzana* assembled at his head village as a *libandla*. This included the warriors from the outlying villages and from the head village. Cibambo's use of the term *libandla* emphasized that it was a territorial unit, divided into *mabuto* (which he called sections) on the basis of age.

When each *libandla* arrived at the Paramount's village ready for warfare, the different age groups within it joined up with their parallel age groups from other *mabandla* to form regiments. The Ngoni term for these national regiments was *mabuto*, the same term as that used for the age divisions of the *mabandla*. Old men who had been warriors in their youth expressed to me many times their immense pride in their own *libuto*, and it had for them something of the tradition and prestige of a famous school. They would recite the names of other *mabuto*, beginning with their own as the most recent, and going backwards through ten or more regimental names to those who had crossed the Zambesi with

[1] Cibambo in the text spoke of warriors wearing the head-ring. The usual practice, according to informants, was to give the head-ring at the end of service in the army. Cibambo may have been referring to former warriors with a head-ring putting on war-dress for a ceremony.

[2] Gluckman, M. 'The Kingdom of the Zulu', in *African Political Systems*, 1940, p. 31.

[3] One example of a concentration of young men was reported at the village of the Queen Mother in the central kingdom in 1898 in *The Central African Times*, see Memorandum XVI, International African Institute, 1938, p. 18.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

from the campaign and the purification of those who had killed any of the enemy.

Cibambo and other Ngoni informants had no idea of the size of the Ngoni armies beyond emphasizing that they were 'very big and very strong'. Evidence was forthcoming, however, from early European sources on the size of the armies which, though it can only have been based on guess-work, nevertheless gave an indication of the numbers involved. Dr. Elmslie referred in 1878 to having seen in the previous year an army of 10,000 of the northern Ngoni which went out in June and returned in September.[1] In the *B.C.A. Gazette* of December 1894, reference was made to the armies of the central Ngoni which were said to be, at the time of their last raids, 50,000 strong. In the *Blantyre District Note Book* there was an entry of 1884, giving no numbers for the army but reporting on the raid on Blantyre in that year when the 'vanguard of the army was composed entirely of young men in their first vigour of manhood, who were said to have marched 50 miles in half a day'. From such scanty references by Europeans, it is clear that the Ngoni armies in the field consisted of large numbers, were highly organized, and trained to feats of endurance as well as in fighting skill. The Blantyre reference also brought out the authority of the big war *induna*, who was presented with cloth by the Moir brothers of the African Lakes Corporation as a bribe not to attack the Blantyre area again, and kept his promise.

Objectives in warfare

Dr. Kuper wrote of the Swazi military kingdom that wars were waged 'to extend the boundaries, to retain tribal independence and to secure internal solidarity'.[2] After the Ngoni kingdoms were set up in Nyasaland, warfare had the same objectives with the additional one of bringing back captives and cattle. In north Nyasaland Dr. Elmslie, in the reference already cited, wrote that, after the four months' campaigning the Ngoni armies returned 'laden with spoil in slaves, cattle and ivory'. Up to the coming of the Europeans many of the raids and wars took place in the hope of annexing additional territory. Dr. Elmslie wrote in 1878 of the Ngoni dominating an area of 30,000 square miles in north Nyasaland from the lake-shore to the Luangwa river. In central Nyasaland the *B.C.A. Gazette* of 1894 reported that the Ngoni Paramount ruled from the Lintippe river near Lilongwe to the Luvubwe river south of the Kirk Range. The chief challenge to Ngoni security in the northern kingdom came from the Bemba, and in the central kingdom from a combination of Yao and Arabs. Dr. Laws recorded in 1886 that the Ngoni, in their final victorious campaign against the Bemba, had

[1] Elmslie, W. A. *Among the Wild Ngoni*. Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1899, p. 79.
[2] Kuper, H. 'The Development of the Military Organisation in Swaziland.' *Africa*, Vol. X, No. 2, p. 176.

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

Military service, obedience to the law,
recognition of the Paramount's supremacy were therefore 187
the main traditional forces uniting the mixed populations
in the kingdoms.

Ngoni society

Although all people living in the Ngoni kingdoms were 641
subjects of the Paramount, only those who could trace their
descent from families who crossed the Zambezi River were
recognized as 'true Ngoni'. Four main characteristics marked
off this true Ngoni group from the rest. The first was their [614]
clan name, giving them an authentic origin south of the
Zambezi. The second was a marriage contract sealed by [583]
handing over cattle, which established the offspring as
'children of their fathers', for, as they said, 'where the
children are, the cattle are not'. The third was patrilineal [611]
descent and inheritance through the male line, and patri- [428]
local residence at marriage, so that the wife came as a [591]
'stranger' to her husband's people and village. The fourth
was membership of a 'house', the social group of male [592]
members of Ngoni families with their wives and children
round a leading woman. Everyone was born into a 'house'
and the men remained in it for life, the women until their
marriage. For special reasons children could be adopted [597]
into another house than the one into which they were born.

In a few of the smaller villages of North Nyasaland, con- 621
sisting of ten to fifteen huts, all the men were true Ngoni, 184
descendants of one or more former warriors in the same
regiment, who had chosen to set up their own villages after [701]
the British had taken over the country. In such villages the
cultural pattern of Ngoni life could be seen clearly, but they
were not typical of the Ngoni kingdoms. There was always [563]
a mixture of peoples in the larger villages, dominated by a
group of true Ngoni families.

This group of true Ngoni families were the social and 186
cultural aristocracy of these villages. They considered them- 563
selves superior to and distinct from the other ethnic elements 621

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

64 charged by him with specific functions relating to the State as a whole, and appear to have exercised general jurisdiction. Other lieutenants were known as the lieutenants of such-and-such a royal village, and were appointed by Mpezeni to look after the queens of the village and to be responsible for the internal ordering of the village.

In addition to these lieutenants each important person had a deputy,[1] who was a patrilineal kinsman of the same generation. Each new holder of the principal office selected his own deputy. The deputy's task was to act for his principal in his absence and to serve as an intermediary between the principal and his lieutenants.

[611] All these posts were hereditary in the agnatic line, except for that [558] of deputy, but new posts were continually being created and the holders of other posts fell into disgrace. Some of the lieutenants of Mpezeni were also headmen of their own villages, while other lieutenants were promoted to be regional governors.

631 Increase in population led to increase in the number of villages and 178 of recognizable divisions within villages, both by divisional fission and 161 by the setting up of separate establishments for groups of wives. This process, operating in response to population pressure from below, was assisted from above by the need to give newly created lieutenants and governors their own dependants and their own recognizable residential cluster.

631 The relative position and importance of a segment of the political 641 structure might alter if its leader was killed in battle or if he offended the Paramount. For example, a certain lieutenant who had a village of his own committed adultery with one of Mpezeni's queens. He was [684] put to death, and all his followers were made to come and live in a 641 royal village. But in addition to the natural increase in the population 727 of any segment, new members were added by capture in war. There 563 was never any distinct class of slaves or captives in the Ngoni State. [567] Apart from the aristocratic families which traced their history back to the pre-migration period in Natal, the rest of the tribe had been either captured at one time or other on the way north, or had joined the Ngoni of their own volition. On capture, people were assigned to some or other important person, and after a while acquired a certain 563 autonomy of their own. The men were all enrolled into the age-set 641 regiment appropriate to their age, and it was possible for them to rise 701 to high positions in the State. No distinction of ethnic origin was

[1] *Mʻsuna*, pl. *osuna*. Cf. the Zulu term *umnawe*, younger brother who is next to the heir.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

made in the regimental system, which was organized on a national basis. A person of low ethnic status, that is, of comparatively late incorporation into the tribe but of senior regiment, was considered to be, in most circumstances, as good as a man of more aristocratic family but of a junior regiment. New regiments were formed about every four years.

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Development of Minor Chieftainships

The defeat of the Ngoni army at the hands of the British in 1898 and the subsequent establishment of British control led to the partial breakdown of this system. The population was dispersed by the fighting and by the unsettled conditions that followed, and part of the kingdom was cleared for European occupation. The Administration recognized the grandson of Mpezeni I as the chief of the tribe, and also worked through a number of men known as Divisional Headmen, who were made responsible for small areas. Some of these divisional headmen were regional governors, some lieutenants of Mpezeni, some members of the royal lineage, and others were upstarts. It is not clear from the rather meagre records that remain or from the statements of informants exactly what happened between 1898 and 1914, but we know that by the latter date the Administration had come to recognize six men as local chiefs, apart from Mpezeni, and that four of them were said to be sons of Mpezeni I.[1] In 1929, when the term Native Authority was introduced, nine minor chiefs were appointed, of whom four were descended from Mpezeni I and one from the father of Mpezeni I. Two of the other minor chiefs have the descent-name *jere* that belongs to the royal lineage, and may be regarded as belonging to assimilated lineages. One is descended from a regional governor, the other from a policeman. Two minor chiefs do not have this descent-name, one being descended from a lieutenant of Zwangendaba and the other from a regional governor. This arrangement of one Paramount Chief and nine minor chiefs persists to the present day. With each of the ten chiefs is associated a more or less defined area within which most of the villages are said to belong to the chief of the area. What appears to have happened during the thirty years after the conquest is that the central power declined and that certain political and territorial segments achieved a degree of autonomy. The ten areas belonging to the different chiefs, which I shall refer to as counties, represent

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[1] Cotnead, *Native Tribes*, pp. 22 and 24.

Ill: Lancaster G-5 (ca. 1935) 1937 FR5 Ngoni FR5

159 173 [567] Zimakazi Lavu Ngoma of the Ansenga tribe worked for Sosera when he was a youth. Zimakazi was caught and made a slave in 1835, the year of the crossing. Ngungu Ngoma, his son, has often heard this from his father and the chieftainess, Sosera. Zimakazi died a few years before his mistress. His son, Ngungu Ngoma, is in the N. Rhodesia Government Service and is about fifty years of age.

[562] [593] (3) Chibenya Mkhalapi. This was the first wife of importance of Zongendaba, the *ikohlwa* wife. When Zongendaba's mother, Mquamacho Nzima, died, Chibenya was taken out of the chief's house and put in his mother's place and called "the Great Mother." This is a well-known custom amongst the Ngoni. The date of her death and place of burial are not known by the present day chiefs. It is stated by some of the indunas that she accompanied Zongendaba north and crossed the Zambesi in 1835, by others that she was the mother of Mtwalu, but this appears doubtful.

[645] [701] (4) Gwaza Tole. Brother-in-law of Zongendaba; Chief Councillor and one of the great indunas. Tribe, Ngoni; regiment, Machaya Imiti. Father, Nzyekezera (Njekerezera); mother and wife, not known; sons, Masakambewa and Chitete.

Zongendaba had married one of Gwaza's sisters. He appears to have been an elderly [554] and very wise councillor, in whom the chief placed great trust and whose advice the indunas and captains readily accepted. Gwaza killed one of Zongendaba's wives on his [578] instructions, possibly his own sister. This led to ill feeling, and it is stated that Gwaza and certain others of his following kept apart from the chief after this affair. He died at Fipa and was buried there in 1846.

159 173 (5) Zulu Gama. Father, Njeru; mother, not known; wife, Nzyalisa.

167 Zongendaba married a sister of Zulu Gama (possibly Mambose Gama) before the Zambesi crossing. They had no issue.

On the upward trek after crossing the Zambesi River to the Fipa country, Zulu Gama left his wife, Nzyalisa, at a village near Kasitu; she had a son by him named Paulos Gama, to whom Zulu Gama left villages at Luanjazi near Maiyuba.

After Zongendaba's death, Zulu Gama and a following broke away, and were followed [578] by the adherents of Mombera. A fight took place near what is now Old Langenburg, and Mombera's people were scattered by this wily old induna. He crossed the Shire River in 1868. He entered Songea and died there later. Chief Ngabi Maseko was killed by [554] Zulu Gama. Zulu Gama appears to have been a general of high qualities and a sound councillor.

159 173 [701] [645] (6) Njekwane Ntilila. Father, Mphange, a brother of Hlatshwayo; mother, Manyuwazana; wife, Mtonga Jojo; sons: Kapatamoyo I., Sondwani, Hoye Chafumela, Chulu, Mene, Mazwe. A cousin of Chief Zongendaba. Chief Induna of the Zimpofu regiment and Chief Induna of the Council. Died at Mpinduka Hill, Matambazi River, in the year 1868.

(7) Mgai Kumalo. Father, Hlatshwayo; mother, unknown; wife, Bichi Nkhosi. Regiment, Majekwane. Died in the Ufipa Country 1848.

11:Lancaster G-5 (ca. 1935) 1937 FR5 Ngoni FR5

(8) Mguzhulu Mphanza ; one of the indunas of the Ziolomba Regiment. Crossed over the Zambesi in 1835. No further particulars known. 159 173

(9) Ntabeni Kumalo ; half brother of Zongendaba. Father, Hlatshwayo ; mother, unknown ; wife, Uthuvi. Regiment, Ziolomba. Died and was buried in Ufipa Country in 1846. [701]

(10) Mafu Kumalo ; elder brother of Hlatshwayo. Father, Mangangati. Killed in action prior to arrival at the Zambesi.

(11) Hlatshwayo Kumalo, the son of Mangangati of the Kumalo clan : married Mquamache Nzima. He had three brothers, Mafu, Gumete and Mphange. He was the father of Zongendaba, Ntabeni, Somfula, Mgai and Lomapela. [614]

I have been unable to ascertain if he took part in the Great Migration. My information leads me to the conclusion that he was dead before Tshaka vanquished the Ama-Ndwandwe.

(12) Mtwalu Jere : born before the Crossing of the Zambesi, about 1833 ? Father, Zongendaba ; mother, Nqutu Nzima ; wife, Magodise ; sons, Amon Jere, and Yohane Jere. Regiment, Manyoka Masoko. Refused the chieftainship because he stated that his father's, Chief Zongendaba's, last wishes had not been carried out. There is no truth in the statement that he was unfitted to hold the chieftainship through physical defects. Died in Nyasaland (Angoni Land), 1890. [643]

(13) Mombera Jere (Mbelwa) ; born at Chulu on the way to Fipa, 1840. Mother, Umnene Nzima, a Swazi ; father, Zongendaba : half-sister, Mphangela ; blood sister, Lomagazi, who it is stated by some was born before the Zambesi was crossed ; son, Chimtunga, whose mother was cast off because of adultery. Chimtunga's appointment was not recognised by his grandfather's indunas. Died in 1891, Angoni Land, Nyasaland. [684] [643]

(14) Mperembe Jere. Not born north side of the Zambesi River ; it is stated his mother did not cross the Zambesi in 1835. 159 173

Mperembe went into the Awemba Country after the break up of the tribe, but appears to have crossed back eastwards over the Loangwa River and joined Mombera and Mtwalu about 1868/9, after being badly beaten by the Chitimukulu. 693

It is known in the Mpezeni country that he captured Chanda mukulu, sister of Chitimukulu, whom he brought back with him and married at Mtelela village near the Mulovi River, that he had one son by her named Chinombo, and that after the Ngoni rebellion Chanda mukulu was returned to her own country ; she resided on the Mackera River for some years. She had slits in her ears so large that one could put one's hand through them. [583] [304]

My informant, Nayeye Phiri, who was born at Kasitu, was caught by Mombera's people at Kanyenda, Kotakota, and made a slave ; she knew Mombera and Chanda mukulu well. She is well over seventy and resides in the Fort Jameson Location. Mperembe Jere appears to have been a disgruntled and bloodthirsty despot and to have had no interests other than bloodthirsty raids and the joys of his harem. He [115] [567] [152]

11: Lancaster G-5 (ca. 1935) 1937 FR5 Ngoni FR5

He

159 was a son of Zongendaba and died after Mombera. After Mombera's death he was
173 acting chief for some years until Chimtunga was appointed.

643 (15) The following is a list of indunas and chiefs who crossed the Zambesi in November, 1835:—Chief Zongendaba, Chief of the Ngoni. Chief Gwaza Tole, Chief
173 Councillor. Chief Njekwane, Chief Military Induna. Indunas: Zulu Gama, Military
167 Adviser; Mguzhulu, Induna Ziolomba Regiment; Somfula, Induna Somfula Regiment;
551 Mgai, Induna Majekwane Regiment; Ntabeni, Induna Ziolomba Regiment. Chief
[643 Gwaza Tole was also Captain of the Machaya Imiti Regiment. Chief Njekwane was
[645 Captain of the Zimpofu Regiment. Regiments:—Majekwane, Ziolomba (black oxhide,
701 white spot), Somfula, Machaya Imiti (red and black hide, white spots), Zimpofu. Wives
of Zongendaba who crossed over:—Chibenya Mkhalapi, Great Mother; Soseta Nqumayo,
[595 Great Wife; Umncne Nzima, mother of Mombera; Nqutu Nzima, mother of Mtwalu;
Mavocho Mkhalapi, mother of Mzukuzuku?; Chigomane, Nguluwe, Ndauya Mbauzima,
543 Mambose Gama, Vuyakhazi, Mwachuma, slave wife and rain-maker? Daughters:—
Lomagazi and Mphangela. Sister:—Qochiwe.

A further list of Zongendaba's wives who may or may not have crossed over:—
173 Nthomane, Bazyamanzya, Zin-Khabi, Nquaneleni, Nkhaleni, Nshanya, Mabeti.

Brothers and half-brothers of the chiefs who crossed over:—Ntabeni, Mgai, Somfula,
167 Mabuzyubuzyu, Ngoya, Unekwane, Uhallo, Ukhungwayo, Undlina, Mtiyane, Izimapela.
551 Chief Diviner or *Isanusi*:—Manyonkolo.
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(16) Zongendaba's sons:—Ntutu Mpezeni, Mtwalu, Ndelendele, Mombera, Maulau, Mwalule, Mwamba, Makekevu Njobvu, Mperembe, Mzukuzuku (?) Kakuya, Jadose, Sikane, Chigamane, and others.

[595 (17) Chief Mpezeni Jere's (Ntutu) wives:—Nyendeka Muzyopa, Athungwa tribe; Lupoko Phakati, mother of Tsingu Jere; Chota; Mtonga, mother of Madzimawe Jere; Mtizwa Soko, Makalanga tribe; Mawase Soko, Makalanga tribe, mother of Mgwazu Jere; Maiwape Hara, Makalanga tribe; Kukuya Twala, Swazi tribe; Ntombiyimbi, First Wife.
[727 Eldest Son:—Tsingu Jere; married Nkuchwa. Both were shot in the Rebellion of 1898. Grandson:—Chiloa Mpezeni II; married Augustina; heir, Pontilino.

159 (18) Ntutu Mpezeni Jere was buried near the cattle kraal in Lupoko village near
173 Fort Young, Fort Jameson District, in 1900.

Lupoko, wife of Ntutu Mpezeni I and mother of Tsingu was buried near the cattle
766 kraal in Lupoko village, in 1901.

[727 Tsingu Jere was shot after court martial and buried near Chipinga old camp near Maesa Hill, 1898.

Nkuchwa, wife of Tsingu Jere, shot by Lt. Poole's troops in the Vubvi Valley; buried on the top of Nsaswe Hill, near Christie's Farm, in 1898.

173 Other Ngoni Regiments:—Mayunge (Ntutu Mpezeni's regiment); Machihungu,
704 Mavimba, Mahiza, Zinyoka, Masoho, Manyisa, Zinkondo, Machona, Mahora, Manyera, Mabema, Kambayenda, Mafelakudeni, Chimalilembalemba.

/3 cont'd/
a point some fifteen miles south of Fort Jameson. It seems likely 175
that another eastward move was being contemplated when in 1898
they clashed with troops from Nyasaland, and were defeated. Al-
ready the territory under the control of Mpezeni stretched across the 131
Luangwa-Shire watershed, and with the establishment of British rule
in the same year, that portion of Mpezeni's domain lying across the
watershed became detached from the main portion which lay in
Northern Rhodesia. The Nyasaland section of the empire is now con- 631
trolled by two independent Ngoni chieftainships, both in the Fort
Manning area of Lilongwe District. In this Territory, the present
Paramount Chief is a great-grandson of the first Mpezeni.

/4/ Like all the Ngoni groups, Mpezeni's people are the result 648
of much intermarriage between the southern migrants and the Central
Bantu people with whom they fought. In particular, Mpezeni's
Ngoni intermarried a great deal with the Nsenga of Petauke District,
and it is the Nsenga language that is spoken to-day in Ngoni villages, 197
rather than the old Ngoni language, akin to Zulu, which is used only
in praises and songs. Cicewa is spoken in some villages which at
the time of the arrival of the Europeans had been incorporated only
a short time into the Ngoni state and had not had time to lose their
own Chewa tongue.

The principal difference between the Ngoni and their surround- 642
ing neighbours is in their form of centralised chieftainship, inherited
from father to son. Under the Paramount Chief are nine minor chiefs, 631
positions created by the British South Africa Company's administration,
and held by descendants in the male line of Zwangendaba and his
important officials. Until about 1920 there were divisional head-
men in charge of a number of villages, but these posts have now 602
disappeared. In a village there is a headman, an hereditary position 624
in the male line, and often one or two assistants, also hereditary
offices, descended from captives of the original headman who had
been promoted to responsible office.

In the old days one of the principal ways in which the diverse 701
elements within the Ngoni state were unified was through the regi-
mental system. Regiments were formed every so many years on a

/4 cont'd/

national basis to include all the adolescent males in the tribe, whatever their origin. Women were grouped into corresponding regiments. This system broke down after the first World War, when so many young men went away in the fighting. To-day the great exodus is not to war but to work, to the mines of Southern Rhodesia and elsewhere, and the incidence of labour migration is so high that it is not unknown to find a village in which there is no adult male resident. Part of the exodus is seasonal, and many men and women, as well as children, find employment on the tobacco farms of the district and in Fort Jameson Township.

II

The staple crop is maize, of which enough is grown to provide in good years for a small surplus for sale to the tobacco farms and the Administration. Tobacco is not grown by Africans for sale, except within the villages, but vegetables and a little rice and finger millet are sold to Europeans. Cattle are kept in the fly-free areas, and play an important but diminishing part in social life as the means of paying bridewealth, but the sale of cattle is not at present a regular affair. Their principal use is as a form of capital investment that can be called up to meet damages and fines awarded by the Courts.

The population of the tribe is about 60,000, the majority living in the Ngoni and Msandile Reserves, both near to Fort /5/ Jameson. The remainder live on the tobacco farms or in Fort Jameson Township. Villages vary in size from settlements of three or four huts to large clusters containing up to 500 people. The average size of a village is about thirty huts with a population of 100.

The Ngoni conquerors reckoned descent in the male line, while most of the people whom they conquered and with whom they married traced descent through the mother. To-day for practical purposes, descent is omnilateral, in that any connection through a male or female ancestor can be made use of as the occasion demands.